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Can heritage be turned into a lever for local development?

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Abstract

What if heritage is more than a mere testimony of the past? What if it comes to life and becomes a source of local development?

Heritage, whether in its tangible or intangible form, is an extremely discussed topic, due to its presence and impact on communities' lifestyles. It has been the target of several debates concerning its preservation, its economic valorisation and mostly, its role on the communities nowadays. This research intends to understand if heritage has the capacity to contribute to a local development process.

To better understand this topic, this thesis will be illustrated by the case study of Baixa's Traditional Shops. Similar to several European urban historic centres, Baixa, Lisbon's historic centre, is losing its traditional shops that symbolize a cultural and commercial reality, but are no longer economically viable. Thus, if their role as an economic agent is not enough for their own survival neither a key to Baixa's local development, their conceptualization as cultural heritage is a new path to explore.

So first, it is crucial to associate these traditional shops with the concept of heritage. Secondly, it will be investigated whether they can promote the local development of Baixa. Such research will be conducted through interviews to several actors involved in this case study.

The aim is to see whether it is possible to suggest that heritage can be a lever for local development.

Keywords: (tangible and intangible) heritage, local development, historic city centres, preservation, cultural valorisation, traditional shops.

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Table of contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgments	3
Index of Tables	6
1. Introduction	7
1.1 Relevance and aim	7
1.2 Practical implications	8
1.3 Structure	9
2. Literature review	11
2.1 Cultural heritage	11
2.1.1 Tangible heritage	12
2.1.2 Intangible heritage	12
2.1.3 Values of heritage	13
2.1.4 Forms of protection	17
2.1.5 Actors	21
2.2 Local development	24
2.2.1 Uses of heritage for local development	24
2.2.1 Heritage as place identifier	25
2.2.2 Heritage as cultural industry	26
2.2.3 Heritage as tourism industry	27
2.2.4 Heritage and place-product promotion	29
2.2.5 Heritage as location factor	30
2.2.6 Heritage in economic area regeneration	31
2.3 Conclusion	32
3. Case study	33
3.1 Baixa (Pombalina)	33
3.2 Traditional Shops	34
4. Empirical setting	36
4.1 Method	36
4.2 Units of analysis	37
4.3 Data collection	38
4.4 Data analysis	38
4.5 Limitations	39

5. Results	41
5.1 Cultural heritage	41
5.1.1 Heritage in Baixa	42
5.1.2 Traditional Shops as Cultural Heritage	43
5.1.3 Threats	46
5.1.4 Forms of protection	50
5.2 Heritage and local development	55
5.2.1 Target	55
5.2.2 Actors	56
5.2.3 Conclusion	58
6. Conclusion and discussion	61
6.1 Research limitations	61
7. References	63

Index of tables

Table 1 - Cultural, societal, social and personal values.	14
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Appendices

Appendix A - Distribution and designation of the streets in Baixa	67
Appendix B – Interview Guide	69
Appendix C – Results of the interviews	72
Appendix D – Strategies using heritage for local development (Ashworth’s theory, 2013)	83

List of abbreviations

MUDE: Museum of Design and Fashion

EGEAC: Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural [private company associated with Lisbon’s municipality for management of cultural activities.

DGPC: Direcção Geral do Património Cultural (Government Department for Cultural Heritage)

CML: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (Lisbon’s municipality)

GEO: Gabinete de Estudos Olissiponenses (Department of Lisbon’s studies)

BCP: Banco Comercial Português: Portuguese commercial bank

GECORPA: Grémio do Património (Heritage Guild)

UACS: União de Associações de Comércio e Serviços (Union of commerce and services associations)

1. Introduction

If the theoretical concept of heritage faces different interpretations, which may vary according to the context where it is been referred to, the existence of real heritage assets also raises several questions (Rizzo & Throsby, 2006). One of the reasons for questioning heritage is the difficulty in understanding the cultural values that heritage assets represent, followed by the difficulty in measuring its economic valorisation.

A similar debate has been taking place in one of the neighbourhoods that belong to the historical centre of Lisbon, named Baixa Pombalina, more known as Baixa. Here, there is a specific issue that this thesis will analyse, designated as Baixa's Traditional Shops¹. From the name of the streets where they are settled, to their interior decoration, they represent memories, traditions and symbols linked with a more customized and familiar production, which turn them into a legacy of what was previously a lifestyle. However, the homogenization of commerce due to the success of modern and global brands accompanied by the closure of traditional shops due to several reasons like the lack of successors, economic unviability or high rental costs, triggered a des-characterization process, whereas traditional commerce used to be the major feature of this area.

Within this context, it is crucial to analyse the several elements that constitute these Shops and realize if these shops can be considered tangible or/and intangible heritage. Thus, building on such analysis, this research intends to discover how these shops can have a more active role on a Baixa's development process. In turn, the result of this challenging case study will confirm or reject whether heritage can be a lever of local development, which is my Research Question.

1.1 Relevance and aim

The main motivation of this research is to understand the relationship between heritage, in its tangible and intangible forms and local development, a relationship defined as being a reluctant one (Ashworth, 2013).

¹ Despite their popular and different designations (such as Shops of Tradition, Shops with History, etc.), in this thesis they will be referred as Traditional Shops.

The research question is “Can heritage be turned into a lever for local development?”. It is my intention to understand the role that heritage (in its tangible or intangible form) may have nowadays, where cultural and economic values are both combined in a single strategy. Specially in a context of economic and social crisis, it gains interest to understand if issues such as social cohesion and economic sustainability can be generated from heritage. This research question is followed by several sub questions, related with the conceptualization of heritage, its protection, its valorisation, etc.

To undertake this research, I will use the case of the Traditional Shops in Baixa. The choice of this case study was driven by personal motivation. It is a subject of my interest and it is a hot topic in Lisbon’s society. Also, by providing a framework and a better knowledge about this area, this research may contribute to the Portuguese attempts to nominate Baixa’ for the World Heritage List. Such traditional shops exist in different parts of the city, namely in Baixa’s neighbour Chiado, but this thesis only focus on those that are situated in Baixa.

First, I intend to understand the applicability of the definition of (tangible and intangible) heritage, its respective cultural values and forms of protection to this case study. One of the important issues is whether these Shops can be considered heritage, in order to apply the strategies regarding heritage and local development. The investigation will continue with the intention to find the role these Shops may have in a process of local development, as heritage assets or by performing another function.

At the end, I hope to be able to accept or reject the hypothesis that heritage (and the Traditional Shops) can be levers of local (Baixa) development.

1.2 Practical implications

More than a testimony of past generations, I believe in the capacity of using heritage as a resource to satisfy several functions and needs of the current generation. But before, it is necessary to clarify the concept of heritage and its application, as this thesis intends to do.

Thus, the possibility to use heritage as a lever for local development, implies the creation of a relationship between these cultural assets and the community where it is present (Grefe, Pflieger & Noya, 2005). This would imply the distribution of financial resources, which are shared with other political priorities like health, education, employment, etc. This highlights the necessity to understand the role of different types of actors from both public and private sphere (public government representatives, private entities, owners, etc) and to discover how can heritage be included in cultural policies. This introduces the political relevance of this thesis.

Finally, I believe in the academic relevance of associating theories with case studies, where theory and practice are tested and such results can add knowledge, in this case, to the cultural economics field. The study case of Baixa's Traditional Shops has been a very debated issue in Lisbon at the moment, and this thesis intends to contribute to such debate.

1.3 Structure

This research presents five chapters. Chapter two is the literature review and it presents previous studies and theories that serve as the basis for this research. First, some academic theories related with concepts such as cultural heritage as well as other related terms will be presented; and at the end will be the theories about the uses of heritage for local development and respective instruments and strategies. The following chapter introduces the case study, with a brief description of its features and the current situation. Chapter four is dedicated to understand how this research will be conducted, by referring to the methodology and sampling, data analysis, data collection and limitations. The fifth chapter presents the results while the conclusion and discussion follow next.

The combination of the theories and concepts reviewed in the theoretical framework with the results of the case study analysis will provide an answer to the research question, which will present in the conclusions chapter.

Finally, the first appendix provides detailed information about the "Distribution and designation of the streets in Baixa". The appendix B is the "Interview guide". The

remaining appendixes are related with the analysis of the data, contemplating the “Results of the interviews” and the “Strategies using heritage for local development (Ashworth’s theory, 2013)”.

2. Literature Review

This chapter contemplates theories, concepts and approaches that will serve as theoretical framework. The first section is dedicated to clarify definitions such as cultural heritage, in its tangible and intangible form, cultural and economic values, market failure, forms of protection and involved actors; the final section highlights the concept of local development and the strategies that can be used to turn heritage into a lever for local development.

2.1 Cultural Heritage

Heritage goods are unique and require a constant maintenance to avoid their deterioration over time. Once destroyed, it is impossible to replace the asset (Rizzo & Throsby, 2006). However, it is not just physical aspects that need to be considered in case of involuntary (or voluntary) destruction, but also a psychological dimension, that involves emotional bonds that people attach to the heritage site. To better understand the role of heritage, it is important to acknowledge its definition.

In October/November of 1972, the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization issued the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage². The first article contemplates what is considered to be cultural heritage:

monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; **groups of buildings:** groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; **sites:** works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding

² The concept of natural heritage was also discussed in this Convention but such reference will not be present in this thesis, once its focus is on cultural heritage.

universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view. (UNESCO, 1972).

This concept of cultural heritage can be difficult to apply, once its “boundaries are unstable and blurred” (Benhamou, 2011, p. 229). This can be confirmed by the previous definition from the 17th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, where the concept of cultural heritage is more focused and limited to tangible assets. The first step for this analysis is to distinguish the two main types of heritage: tangible and intangible.

2.1.1 Tangible Heritage

The concept of tangible heritage includes physical assets movable and immovable, from buildings to small artifacts (Tangible Cultural Heritage). The existence of immovable assets that identify our roots and memories is associated with an historical perspective, which allows making a narrative, essential for the creation of an individual and collective identity, especially for those who share a daily life in their surroundings, reason why Ashworth considers heritage as “place-bound” and associates it with a sense of well being (2013, p. 367).

The presence of immovable assets helps to define the limits of the territory and spatial context (rural or urban) where heritage is created and appreciated (Holler & Mazza, 2013). For example, the association of heritage with the urban space gives rise to the concept of historic town (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000).

This is an overview of what is tangible heritage. But to have a better understanding about heritage, it is also important to analyze the concept of intangible heritage.

2.1.2 Intangible Heritage

The identity of a person or of a community that is expressed in their daily life is related to the existence of intangible heritage. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, adopted by UNESCO in 2003, states that intangible heritage

includes “oral traditions and expressions; performing arts; social practices; rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and knowledge related to traditional craftsmanship”, which are expected to be transmitted to following generations (UNESCO, 2003). Goto (2013) refers to one key concept to understand intangible heritage: authenticity. This concept is used by Nishimura (2000) to characterize the uniqueness of intangible heritage due to its specific “form, design, material, substance, use, function, tradition, techniques, location, setting, spirit and feelings” (as cited in Goto, 2013, p.570).

Related to the definition of intangible heritage, is the concept of craftsmanship, as being the “possession of knowledge and practical skills, which some people think are superfluous or marginal, can be a source of development, encourage creativity and promote diversity” (Cominelli & Greffe, 2013, p. 405). This concept has also been used as a way to enhance the idea of human and social capital, where the skills, knowledge, location and the relationship between the individuals enhance the community’s identity. (Andersson and Mellander, 2011). However, it is not only the practitioner that is important to take into account, but also the skills, materials and techniques as well as the place of production, which combination contributes to the uniqueness and authenticity of the production process (as well as of the final product).

All these tangible and intangible elements are included in the category of cultural heritage, which in turn is part of the concept of cultural capital, as presented next.

2.1.3 Values of heritage

The association of heritage with the concept of cultural capital is due to the presence of cultural values that makes the heritage asset differ from an ordinary one (Rizzo & Throsby, 2006).

The cultural value of a heritage asset is constituted by various elements, from its aesthetic, historical, scientific, social, spiritual and locational characteristics. Its measurement and interpretation can be subjective and the assessed criteria may vary from country to country. Heritage cannot be evaluated in financial terms, but can

interfere in the allocation of financial resources. In general, the difference resides in the importance given to the range of characteristics, from its aesthetic and historical features, where an objective description can be considered, like the determination of the date and method of construction, to a more social aspect – related with people, their sense of belonging, events and the external context of the site occurred in their context, etc. (Mason, 2008, as cited in Throsby, 2013).

To better understand such values, Klamer (2013) distinguishes four different types of values that can help to characterize cultural heritage and may serve as motivation to preserve an asset.

Artistic, historical, aesthetic and spiritual values	Societal values Contribution to comunal history, identity, to civilization, to historical consciousness
Personal values Personal goals, personal realization, a sense of belonging	Social values The bonding of the people involved

Table 1. Cultural, societal, social and personal values (Klamer, 2013, p. 426)

This framework allows us to understand the cultural valorisation of an asset and, as previously affirmed, the presence of these values is what permits the association of a heritage asset with the concept of cultural capital. However, it is important to explore this concept and refer that this notion, and its word capital, also entails some financial valorisation.

According to Rizzo and Throsby (2006), heritage can be seen as a capital asset, which involves three characteristics: the investment of physical and human resources on its creation; the deterioration over time which imposes maintenance to avoid losing it; and the creation of services that allow the consumption of heritage goods and inspire future production.

Thus, as any capital asset, it has a financial valorisation. The financial value of

heritage can be understood through the consideration of use (e.g. purchase of a ticket) and non-use values (like the willingness to pay as an indication of the economic worth). Benhamou (2013) refers to different levels of heritage consumption by its population. The main one is considered use value since it represents a real consumption of visitors that enjoy the asset. If the consumption is higher, the financial value is more easy to identify, once there is in fact a process of exchange of money associated with a heritage item (e.g. entrance ticket, travel costs, etc.). Such financial potential can motivate the preservation of the asset or, on the opposite, can contribute to its degradation motivated by the search for profit.

In turn, the non-use values are attached to a simple appreciation of the asset rather than the consumption of it. Although they represent different forms of consumption, they all have embodied a willingness to pay from individuals who care for its preservation. The first is option value, which represents the willingness to pay for the maintenance of the asset for the possibility to visit it in one desirable moment in the future. The second type of non-use value is known as existence value due to the fact that people are willing to pay for the preservation of an asset for the mere fact that it stands and represents some emotional links, even if its existence does not imply people's desire to visit it. This is related with altruistic and prestige value as the pleasure that a community takes from the existence of the asset (McLoughlin, Sodagar & Kaminski, 2006). The third is the bequest value that represents the willingness of the present generation to maintain the heritage asset for the enjoyment of future generations. This value not only represents a desire to pay for its maintenance but it also includes some social considerations related with the relation of the asset with national pride, sense of belonging and identity roots. However, the realization of this value can be problematic, once it is impossible to predict the preferences of the next generation. Finally, a heritage asset can be accompanied by an educational value where the artistic and historical features of an asset may be relevant for educational purposes (Klamer, 2013).

The existence of all these cultural and financial values can have a negative effect. For example, the historical valorisation of a site may rise the interest of higher-income

groups that look to establish themselves in this area. This can lead to gentrification, where Orbasli (2000) indicates the decrease of residents in this historic urban space and the disappearance of the respective lifestyle. Another aspect associated with the location of heritage is the neighbour dilemma. In this case, the rehabilitation of a building or a neighbourhood next to the one in question, may bring financial investment and help in the cultural revitalisation of the asset, which leads to its consequent preservation. However, the new lifestyle and facilities that the neighbourhood may have after its rehabilitation may lead to an increasing abandonment situation of the area in question. These examples of cultural and financial valorisation of heritage expresses the uniqueness of heritage as cultural capital and show how delicate and complex this topic is. It is important to provide a balance between those two types of valorisation, specially in the distribution of resources to avoid a situation of exaggerated cultural valorisation of heritage assets, which can prevent the investment in assets more useful and relevant for the present generation or vice-versa, where financial valorisation may detriment the cultural values of an asset.

Another debate regarding heritage concerns the role of the current generation, once cultural heritage is related with the existence of a legacy from the past and its use and transmission from the present to a future generation, which suggests that “heritage is a duty of care of the present generation” (Rizzo & Throsby, 2006, p.988). Thus, as Ashworth affirms, to fulfil this value “an economic mortgage is taken from the future”, once the current generation is paying for the conservation and survival of an asset for the future generations, whose opinion and values cannot be assessed nowadays (2013, p. 371). On one side, the use of heritage by the current generation avoids situations of abandonment but may put at risk its physical state of conservation, requiring a constant (and costly) maintenance.

In fact, heritage is not only a question of intergenerational equity but also a question of efficiency for each generation, according to the values they attribute to cultural assets. This exemplifies the complexity of cultural policies regarding heritage, which are constantly pressed by long term implications, such as the distribution of resources

between different assets.

2.1.4 Forms of protection

Another issue related with heritage is that it is often associated with a collective identity, who shares a past and expresses values allied to its existence. Due to this strong connection with the sense of identity and cultural assimilation, cultural heritage is commonly associated with public interest, which is indeed true in some aspects but more complex in others.

First, is important to understand the association of cultural heritage goods with public goods. The concept of public good is constituted by two features: non-rivalry and non-excludability. The former means that everyone has the same possibility to access to enjoy the asset, while being non-rival means that individual enjoyment does not prevent the enjoyment of others (except during moments of congestion, that can cause a decrease of satisfaction). According to Towse, outdoor built heritage is an example of a “true public good” (2010, p. 237). Such features allow a third party to benefit from a private transaction, which is related with the problem of free-riding, known as the consumption of a good without sharing any costs.

Another issue related with the exchange and consumption of goods, specially heritage assets is its availability. In general, the society looks for consuming heritage, but the private sphere fails in providing the optimum number of assets as desired. This calls for public intervention has a way to overcome what is designated as market failure.

Another cause of market failure is information problems, which is related with the uncertainty of the product itself, namely its quality. This is caused by: asymmetric (or lack) of information, where consumers and producers have different information, which leads to a non reliable exchange. Commonly experts tend to join this situation to uncover the uncertainty about the product. However, their role may contrast with the question of consumer sovereignty. Then, the information can be provided by different sources (peers, ratings, etc) and consequent reputation of the product may be considered information enough for a citizen, who saves on the costs of acquiring such information by believing in

other consumption experiences. Nevertheless, the consumer can also experience the product and personally obtain information about its quality and even share it (Nelson, 1970 as cited in Hutter, 2011). This last idea raised the concept of experience goods as examples of goods that entail an experience feature in their consumption, due to their “intangibility, inseparability, heterogeneity and perishability” (Andersson & Andersson, 2006, as cited in Hutter, 2011, p. 212). Such characteristics can be often found in goods from the cultural sector. Thus, the applicability of this concept in heritage assets may transform the way cultural heritage is consumed. However, one of the critics to this concept, is that the majority of goods has the experience factor intrinsic in their consumption and that experience goods often entail a degree of novelty which can represent a challenge to the heritage sector (Billie and Lerenzen, 2008, in Towse, 2011).

But returning to the previous topic, in order to fight market failure, it is necessary to call for public intervention. Despite the willingness and action in the protection of heritage by private actors, their action might be limited by financial constraints, for example. Then, it is necessary some public support, next to this private intervention in a combined effort.

First, according to Klamer, Mignosa & Petrova (2013), there are three major tools for public intervention and their application varies according to the context and the rules in place. It is noteworthy to refer that some of these tools can be used to overcome market failure as well as in the direct protection of heritage.

The first tool is regulation. The most common example of regulation is the process of listing or certification and it is the common starting point of any heritage evaluation (Noonan, 2013). The process of listing varies among countries, depending of the definition and extension of the concept of heritage, the criteria used for its designation, etc. One of its advantages is that it is a free procedure, but their subsequent plans of conservation imply costs, which can lead to an extensive list of assets but without the appropriated maintenance. Regulation can also mean the application of rules to avoid any alteration or even demolition that may harm the heritage asset. This can be applied through a range of rules and norms with clear standards about materials, colours and methods of

conservation (Throsby, 2013). The purpose of these tools is to assure the respect for the features of the building. It can be applied for public owned assets but also to private ones, where despite the right of ownership, the owner needs to fulfil these standards (Benhamou, 2013). However, there are some disadvantages of regulation such as the discouraging aspect, for example when the owner intends to do small alterations without the intention of damaging the property or even with the purpose of its promotion, but is not allowed by the legal standards. Regulation is also related with the administrative costs associated with the creation and control of these norms. Despite this difficulty, it aims to guarantee the preservation of the asset (Klamer et al., 2013).

The second tool is financial support through direct public expenditure, where the government attributes subsidies. This financial help is also seen as a payment to cover the expenses related with the conservation of the asset and an eventual loss of value due to conservation constraints (Benhamou, 2013). Towse (1994) defends the application of subsidies to overcome information problems as one of the sources of market failure, by creating a demand through the education and attraction of new target audiences. In fact, when talking about educational purposes, it is common to evoke the merit good argument. It says that such goods have educational and cultural values, which makes them beneficial for the society, which consequently justifies the attribution of subsidies. Another method is by improving the accessibility of people, whether in social, economical or geographical and physical terms as an equity argument to justify subsidies. The government may have this role of financial assistant but also can also finance directly public and private projects, where its support may be more than financial but also in activities like research, management, campaigns, among others (Klamer et al., 2013). However, the attribution of financial support may embody some limits to the management of the property, like the obligation to be open for the public in certain periods (Benhamou, 2013).

The third tool is also a financial incentive, but through taxes, where the public sector can retrieve money to finance such cultural expenditures. Through taxation, each citizen contributes to the maintenance costs of heritage assets through their individual

taxes. However, this can be considered efficient and fair only for those who share non-use values and realize their willingness to protect the asset with this method (Towse, 2010). However, taxation can be a financial incentive if the government provides tax reductions to attract the investment from private entities. This is considered an indirect subsidy since, instead of providing money, the state reduces its own income by relieving its final revenue from the taxes. In exchange of this tax reduction, the private sector becomes partly responsible for the heritage preservation. Such investment by the private sector can reduce the presence of public intervention, releasing the government from the burden of conservation costs.

Although these methods previously mentioned can help in the protection of both tangible and intangible assets, they are more commonly applied in built heritage. Conservation of intangible heritage is more related with processes of identification (which were already mentioned in this chapter), support and transmission (Cominelli & Greffe, 2006). The support can be monetary (e.g. bear operational costs of insertion in the markets) or by providing non financial assistance (like business, marketing and management advices). When talking about transmission, it helps to preserve and assure the continuity of technical skills as well as the tradition and feelings associated with the intangible asset. This can be realized by the publication of books and articles that, by providing information, rise the awareness and participation of the population. Goto (2013) also mentions education and training as methods of transmission. However, whether the transmission is proceeded in an informal familiar circle or with a formal apprenticeship system, the lack of students is as major obstacle. However, it has been noticed a willingness from the youngest generations to learn old crafts (Soares, 2015.) One other solution is the inclusion of those skills, techniques and tradition in another productive sector (different from the original one) which may also result in the rise of creativity as a source of innovation. It is noteworthy to affirm that maintaining heritage can be costly, but its use can also generate income and local development (Ashworth, 2013). Such challenge is on the hands of the actors that will be presented next.

2.1.5 Actors

Despite the common connection between heritage assets and public intervention, especially in Mediterranean countries, there are more actors involved in the heritage field (Seaman, 2013).

However, the public sphere is the first to be considered in this analysis of cultural heritage goods. As already mentioned, the public sector is closely related with this topic, specially in the context of democratization of culture, where heritage assets are used as a source of wellbeing and social cohesion (Ashworth, 2013). Supporting and stimulating such conditions is a responsibility of the government. However, the financial crisis of 2008 brought some doubts regarding the role of the state in some areas like culture and arts. But simultaneously, it has also stimulated new hypothesis of cooperation, between public or private entities, opening new paths for cultural and economic regeneration.

When considering the role of the public sphere, it is important to take into consideration its type of authority. The common debate is between local or central administration. The arguments that support local administration are linked with the fact that local authorities are normally more closed to citizens, which can contribute to an easier transmission of information and increase of awareness (Holler & Mazza, 2013). In this context, the sense of belonging and respective emotional connection for certain heritage assets can be an opportunity to promote local development, which in turn can justify the request for local resources.

Meanwhile, the central administration is responsible for financial resources. Even if the administration is local, the financial resources are commonly provided by the central government. However, re-election goals and the location of national heritage assets may influence the distribution of resources (Holler & Mazza, 2013). Also, the existence of different political parties with various programs, sets heritage and culture into a different ladder of priorities. Klammer et al. (2013), refer to a decentralization trend, strengthening the local authorities and their capacities to promote cultural participation.

Despite the major influence of the central and local government, there are other public actors that need to be considered. First, there are bureaucratic groups, composed

by experts whose authority was delegated by the government, due to its lack of time and expertise to evaluate certain priorities, such as heritage (Holler & Mazza, 2013). When considering the idea of consumer sovereignty, consumers should be the ones to have more knowledge about their wishes and opinions about what should be preserved and consumed. However, when arrives the moment of distributing financial resources, a fully informed and expert body needs to be taken into consideration. These experts can be responsible for gate keeping, by being responsible for selecting the assets they believe are the most important ones.

It is also noteworthy to understand the role of citizens. Howard (2003) considers citizens as insiders (specially residents) those who emotionally own heritage and urban spaces by creating an identity attached to them. There are also outsiders which include visitors who appreciate the site, driving up the market of services and goods related with tourism. The presence of migrants can also be a major influence in the maintenance of cultural traditions and distribution of resources in the urban space (Andersson & Mellander, 2011). The citizen as a voter plays a major role when facing the elections, where the results may not represent the victory of the best proposal regarding cultural heritage due to other interests and aspects (like loyalty to a certain party). Citizens may also contribute in the simple consumption and enjoyment of heritage, as well as in supervision tasks as previously mentioned. Besides citizens acting individually, there are interest groups who share the same ideas and values and join in safeguarding a cause. Dependently of their purpose and strength, these groups may create major political pressure.

The presence of these different types of actors highlights the complexity of the inclusion of heritage in the political agenda, which also depends on external factors like electoral results, the increasing list of heritage to protect, debates between government priorities (like education, health, national security, employment, etc.) and consequent distribution of resources, low levels of cultural participation, etc. It is within this context, that we can apply Klammer's definition of social goods and respective proposal of financing (2013). According to the author, stakeholders like public institutions cannot valorise

heritage assets in a proper way. Thus, it is vital to attract other type of stakeholders, which are present in the private sphere (whether profit or non-profit) to financially contribute in exchange of a sense of ownership.

This private for profit sphere is characterized by the efficiency of private enterprises and respective possibility to apply its knowledge of management and marketing in the heritage sector, whether public or privately owned (Rojas, 2010, as cited in Seaman, 2013), which may help in the insertion of cultural goods in the market arena, using “commercialism as a positive force for culture” (Cowen & Grier, 1996, as cited in Seaman, 2013). Also, their investment capacity may lead to a reduction of both public expenditure and political influence on the heritage sector (Ponzini, 2010, as cited in Seaman, 2013). However, this can become a negative reality, since the goal of the actors from this sphere is to create profit, without prioritizing some aspects like the preservation of the assets.

In this way, the attention goes to the third private sphere composed by groups of citizens, volunteers and cultural and social institutions that mediate between a possible carelessness from the private sphere and insufficient public intervention (Seaman, 2013). This sphere can help to ask for financial support by providing sponsorships or partnerships, once is more closed to the local reality and respective needs.

As it is possible to analyse, each actor presents benefits and disadvantages: while the public sector creates discouraging restrictions and faces financial difficulties, it guarantees the conservation of heritage; whereas public awareness represents an opportunity, the participation of citizens involves commitment and efforts from the political authorities; as the market fails in providing cultural value, it allows the creation of enterprises related with heritage. As Seaman (2013) refers, while public intervention appears to be insufficient, private intervention can be considered an answer but will hardly be considered the best solution. In this way, a combination between public and private actors seems to be the best solution to conserve heritage sites, when one sphere fails to be efficient, the others are complimentary. A possible solution is sponsorships, public and private partnerships and similar agreements, where the responsibility of heritage

maintenance is shared through these three spheres (Klamer et al., 2013). These partnerships are different from case to case and vary significantly in their action when dealing with tangible or intangible heritage.

2.2 Local development

For the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987, responsible for issuing the Brundtland Report, the term sustainable development was the key topic. It was born by the need to assure that a process of development could be realized without damaging the environment and future generations, mostly through the cooperation between individuals, politicians, private and public entities (Understanding sustainable development). The framework of this report was the basis for a relation between culture and local development, which was re-discussed in United Nations' Environmental Conference of Rio de Janeiro in 1992. In here, the program Local Agenda 21 established four pillars to reach a sustainable development: environment, society, economy and culture, promoting their local application and consequence local development (Agenda 21).

It is within this context that it is important to understand the role of cultural heritage in a process of local development, which will be explored in this second part of the theoretical framework.

2.2.1 Uses of heritage for local development

The Faro Convention in 2005 considered the “value and potential of cultural heritage [to be] wisely used as a resource for sustainable development and quality of life in a constantly evolving society” (as cited in Klamer et al., 2013, p. 38).

Following Ashworth's framework (2013), there are six strategies to use heritage as a lever for local development, each one with specific goals and instruments and different actors. The study of Cominelli and Greffe (2013) about the effects that intangible heritage may have in terms of local development will be also analysed. These last authors suggest

that intangible heritage can contribute for the awareness of human rights (through the respect of individual communities) and environmental protection (through the use of local natural resources); can create employment in areas related with heritage and, finally, it can promote development by introducing skills and techniques to the production process of goods in a global economy.

Thus, there are several ways in which heritage can contribute to a local development process. However, it is important to remember that, despite heritage is a flexible resource, it has some constrictions due to its original purpose of construction, which represents Ashworth's idea of reluctant relationship between cultural heritage and local development (2013). The adaptation of heritage for local development requires effort and different strategies as it will further be analysed.

2.2.2 Heritage as place identifier

According to Ashworth (2008), there are three major elements for heritage to be considered a place identifier: landscape, heritage and identity, defined as resource, instrument and goal, respectively. First, heritage, as already observed, is a product from the past that indicates our roots and allows us to understand our history and even our personality. The presence of heritage assets helps in the composition of the local landscape, which in turn may have been a resource for the creation of the assets. While identity, is an imaginary process that serves contemporary purposes linked with a sense of belonging and social relations. This relationship results in the creation of an "identity dividend", which represents the identity of an individual or a group (residents, workers). This dividend changes over time due to the different interpretation that is given to heritage and to the different values that each generation and community assumes.

According to DeMiglio and Williams (2008), the biological and physical characteristics of a place can create emotional bonds, values and awareness for the heritage positioned in the place, which enhances the identity of the place as a reality to fight for, through tangible elements and by enhancing feelings, cultural traditions and the identity itself as part of the intangible heritage, which makes the combination of space

and heritage a source of well being. Also, the existence of certain individual qualifications (e.g. skills and techniques) and personality traits is also a source of identity and human creativity (Cominelli & Greffe, 2006; Andersson & Mellander, 2011).

Such aspects bring residents that feel attracted and willing to pay high rental costs to live in places “composed of elements of visual comprehensibility, aesthetic gratification and agreeable historical associations” (Benhamou, 2013, p. 381). Tourists are also willing to travel to enjoy such uniqueness. Leisure is also associated with a place and a sense of well being, as an opportunity to create an identity and share it with other people and to retrieve a satisfaction from recreational activities practiced there (Williams & Patterson, 2008).

However, tourists and residents (and also commercial companies) are not the only ones who benefit from such identity driven from places. The government and respective political institutions commonly encourage and benefits from such identity dividend. In fact, Anderson refers the creation of nation as imagined communities where population identify their compatriots by sharing the same values (1991, as cited in Gruffudd, 1995). Even though heritage is important for national identity, its contribution for local development is made in smaller locations, like neighbourhoods/communities and cities/districts.

2.2.2 Heritage as cultural industry

Here, heritage is similar to other cultural industries, and works as an enterprise dedicated to the production of products and services related to heritage (Ashworth, 2013). Heritage assets are located next to other cultural enterprises, which interaction results in a common protection and promotion of each enterprise (including heritage) and distinguishes this specific area.

This production is realized by interconnected small enterprises that share different responsibilities and stages of the process. According to Orbasli (2000), small businesses and local production are representative of the uniqueness of the place. Richards (1996)

links heritage consumption to a post modern (and post Fordism) period, where there is a major attention to authenticity, differentiation and flexible patterns of production. This production process creates employment and attracts entrepreneurs, investors and consumers and allows the establishment of a strong network. In fact, this closed relation between workers and stages of production is the basis for the identification of a cluster and an agglomeration economy where a specialized “pool of skilled labour” facilitates the production process (Towse, 2010, p. 515). In order to maintain this authenticity, the local businesses assume the control of the production process, which consequently leads to a higher sense of ownership and belonging, contributing to enhance the local culture and to maintain the tradition and the community’s lifestyle. Such products will have attached certain meanings and values, due to their production inside the community circle (Richards, 1996; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1992). This represents both the tangible and intangible element resulted in the production process. It is common to use the “made in” label or the reference to the place of production but also with the use of natural resources and certain techniques and skills, which supports development by producing such specialized products and by enhancing a community of craftsman (Cominelli & Greffe, 2006). In fact, the concentration of producers is linked with creativity and enhances the tolerance and respect for the community’s lifestyle (Holcombe, 2011).

Such characteristics of this heritage industry can be of public interest to safeguard. To better support these small firms, some partnerships or even the private sphere can provide non financial help, like business and marketing advices (Cominelli & Greffe, 2006).

Tunbridge and Ashworth summarizes this mechanism by saying that “heritage resources can support a major heritage industry in its own right: a commercial activity selling the commodified past as part of a package of leisure products” (1992, p.181).

2.2.3 Heritage as tourism industry resource

Like the previous referred strategy of heritage as cultural industry, tourism is also a “specialized cultural industry”, where the products and services created are targeted only for tourists (Ashworth, 2013, p. 379). The cultural tourists (according to their tastes, costs

constraints and educational background) can be attracted by tangible and intangible heritage, whether by its natural beauty, historical significance or related events and personalities or, more recently, due to its traditional commerce (Orbasli, 2000). This last aspect can also be an attraction for tourists that look for products that is impossible to find in their home country, and due to the presence of skills and the use of certain materials in their production (Cominelli & Greffe, 2006)

According to Urry, “tourism is a leisure activity typically organized within particular places and occurring for regularized periods of time” (1990, as cited in Herbert, 1995, p. 6). Additionally, MacCannell says that “tourism has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs”. This highlights the commodification of culture, where tourism is a commercial process motivated by tourists and applied to improve their experience in the heritage place (Hewinson, 1987 as cited in Richards, 1996). This represents the adaptation of heritage to receive the touristic movement. However, such adaptation may represent a danger to the conservation of the heritage asset or site, due to the flow of people, the congestion of the surrounding area and as well as a threat to the authenticity of the asset due to the tension that can arise from the contact between insiders and outsiders and between conservation and development of infrastructures and services related with tourism. In the case of tourism in historic towns, the management of the visitors implies the maintenance of a high quality environment for residents, once the purpose of the tourists is to understand the life of the place, which make them use more than the facilities dedicated to tourism (Herbert 1995; Orbasli, 2000). Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) refer to heritage as a resource, urban space as the setting and tourism as an activity, as being the essential formula in cultural and leisure activities in modern and tourist cities. Orbasli (2000) notes the increase of the desire for travel in countries where there is economic and political stability.

This represents the need to distinguish and develop primary resources (those that immediately attract the tourist) from secondary resources (which support the tourists’ experience), in order to improve the cultural policy regarding tourism. On one hand, public intervention is called to intervene due to its relation with heritage being commonly

a public good as well as the financial benefits that tourism brings (Ashworth, 1995). The private sector is essentially responsible for heritage related services. In spite of this major movement of tourists, the income received may be more related with the related services (like accommodation, transports) than the consumption of cultural heritage itself, once its access can have price discriminations or even zero entrance costs (Ashworth, 2013). To overcome such discrepancy, Benhamou (2013) suggests the payment of local taxes by the private industries that receive income from heritage tourism. Nevertheless, tourism is considered a clean and profitable industry with positive aspects like the increase of awareness and participation of the population, maintenance of the historic environment, favourable reputation of the place, the interaction between cultures, the creation of employment and services related with tourism and its foreign income (Orbasli, 2000). A combined effort between private and public entities may be beneficial to balance the distribution of such benefits as well as to share costs.

2.2.4 Heritage and place-product promotion

The forth strategy of local development is using heritage as place-product promotion. According to Moilanen and Rainisto a brand is “an impression perceived in a client’s mind [whether individual or collective] of a product or a service. It is the sum of all tangible and intangible elements, which makes the selection unique” (2009, p. 6). Thus, place branding is a combination of characteristics such as heritage, culture, population, environment, social development, among others, which constitute the brand of the place. Place branding comes from the need to distinguish places, as a way to enhance the authenticity of their cultural characteristics such as events, monuments, celebrations, etc. It intends to attract and involve the visitor into a unique and local experience of tangible and intangible heritage as a way to compete with other places (whether local, regional, national or even international) (Govers & Go, 2010).

In such strategy of place promotion where heritage is the leading figure, the commercialisation of heritage is based on the idea of applying techniques from commercial activities common in the private for profit sphere to heritage promotion but

with some differences (Parkerson & Saunders, 2005). First, one of the physical characteristics is geographical location, normally associated with political and economic independence (Moilanen & Rainisto, 2009). Second, the goals can vary from creating social cohesion and local economies to reach a position in an international circuit, while normal product branding is more focused on creating income. Parkerson and Saunders (2005) affirm that cities can achieve a position in the national and international stage, based on the attraction of leisure, business and study opportunities. Ashworth and Voogd (1990) affirm that places are multi sold, which means that the same physical space and respective facilities can be sold to different customers with different motivations, at the same time. This situation applied to heritage enhances one of its public good features: the non-exclusivity, which means that the consumption of heritage products does not reduce the available stock/supply, as it normally happens with a common tradable product (except in a situation of congestion).

In this way, both types of branding create an identity (created by the producer), for a specific target (residents or visitors) associated with a single image (created in the mind of the consumer) and certain values and carried by a communication strategy. Both types of branding use networks, creates emotional feelings for the costumer, guarantees quality (similar to the quality effect caused by listing), stimulates partnerships, entrepreneurships and networks and require a certain level of education and knowledge to be able to develop a strong brand (e.g. The “made in” label referred as a certification of origin can also be used as a brand). A goods strategy of place branding gives competitive advantage by attracting residents, tourists, businesses, private investments, events, industries and involves public institutions, experts and other entities responsible for cultural policy.

2.2.5 Heritage as location factor

The location of tangible and intangible heritage can be an important factor in the decision of allocating enterprises and residences. Places can be attractive itself due to the presence of cultural assets, which enhance the idea of a certain identity, already explained on the first strategy. But the main argument of using heritage as location factor is that it

can attract the establishment of enterprises that somehow benefit from those intangible and tangible elements (Aswirth & Godall, 1990 as cited in Moilanen & Rainisto, 2009). It can also attract the establishment of enterprises that are not directly related with heritage but that benefit from its proximity. Residents can also feel interested in living in such place while visitors may feel invited to discover such unique place. Some disadvantages and simultaneously advantages are the adaptation of the area to the presence of heritage assets and the access of both residents and tourists, like regulation about traffic and parking, night movement, improvement of accessibility, infrastructures, urban design, possible gentrification, among others. In this case, public intervention can have a major role, once it is the entity responsible for the imposition and control of such measures. However, if heritage attracts more enterprises, this may represent a bigger presence of the private sector.

2.2.6 Heritage in economic area regeneration

According to Richards (1996), the consumption of culture is linked with economic regeneration, due to the creation of cultural facilities and the attraction of investment in a certain area. Following the same perspective, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1992), affirm the use of heritage and respective recreational and leisure demand precede the economic regeneration of certain areas. The authors focus on cities with a waterfront and its unique physical and historical aspects and its relevance for economic regeneration. In their study, waterfront development can influence the political (maritime pride), commercial (maritime trade), social (residents and workers) and cultural (maritime tradition) dimensions of place. This highlights the extent of the influence that a heritage asset may have. The use of heritage as the dominant economic sector becomes the formula for local development. In such case, businesses and companies play a relevant role in helping this regeneration.

One of the disadvantages of this strategy is that the extreme dedication to heritage as the main source of income may despise its cultural values and respective conservation of the assets. However, heritage as the dominant economic sector can lead to the

development of supportive infrastructures related with heritage goods and services, which creates employment and awareness for its protection, once it is the main source of financial resources.

In fact, this regeneration is normally lead by public authorities once it justifies the application of this tool in places that suffered from a crisis, using heritage as motivation to improve its economy (Benhamou, 2013). The private sphere may also be attracted by such economic development and consequently associate itself to the regeneration of the area as well.

2.3 Conclusion

This part presented several tools to create local development using heritage as a resource. On one side, the conservation of heritage can accentuate a backward mentality and limit the vision and actions concerning the future. On the other side, the possibility to bring economic revenues and local development are the main arguments for the use of heritage. Alongside, the context of financial and social crisis that persists in several countries (like Portugal) creates the conditions and needs to combine heritage with local and sustainable development, as it will be demonstrated by the case study of the Traditional Shops of Baixa.

3. Case study

As mentioned, this thesis will focus on a case study, to understand whether heritage can be a lever for local development. The case study is about the Traditional Shops that are situated in Baixa, Lisbon's heart, as it will be following described.

3.1 Baixa (Pombalina)

Baixa Pombalina, more commonly known as Baixa, is one of the most important neighbourhoods that belong to the historical centre of Lisbon. The reconstruction of this area, caused by the earthquake of 1755, was lead by Marquês de Pombal, whose reconstruction project gave the name Pombalina to this space. This area covers an area of 235.260 square meters and, to announce the beginning and the end of this area, there were two main squares. Rossio, which official name is Praça D. Pedro IV, is an open square with restaurants and traditional shops as well. On the other edge is Praça do Comércio also known as Terreiro do Paço, it was the previous location of the Royal Palace and, after it, the location of the Commercial Bank. Nowadays, it is occupied by some government departments and other services like museums, shops and restaurants. It is also important to refer to the variety of monuments like the Arch of Augusta' Street, Theatre D. Maria, Santa Justa Elevator, the archaeological roman ruins, and all the museums (like the Lisbon Story Center, Museum of Money, Design and Fashion Museum) and important spaces like the Café Martinho da Arcada, where Fernando Pessoa (Portuguese writer) wrote several poems, that are the main cultural attractions of this area, accompanied by several sculptures and urban icons (eg. Calçada à Portuguesa) that reveal the presence of a strong cultural and historical identity. The combination of all these elements defines this whole area as a cultural and historical site, from its roman ruins to nowadays, enhanced by the presence of some evidences of the artistic movements such as the modernism (Luís, 2005).

The above mentioned reconstruction of Baixa was based on the period of the Enlightenment and respective reformulation of society and its values, which lead to the creation of a "city" (De Carvalho, 2005, p. 93). Baixa is composed by a clear organization of

perpendicular and parallel streets, in accordance to the commercial activities that were located there. The buildings have a unique structure called “gaiola” [cage] to prevent future earthquakes and a hierarchy with facades in accordance to the importance of the streets where they were located. The protection of these 62 blocks of buildings and 430 buildings with this homogeneous architecture were the target of the attempt to consider Baixa a UNESCO site, during the Symposium of 2003 (Rossa, 2008). Despite its failure, due to the lack of a Management Plan, among others reasons, it highlighted the necessity of a better strategy of protection for this area. In 2011, Lisbon’s Municipality introduced a Regulation for the Safeguard of Baixa Pombalina, where the main goal was to protect the historic heritage represented by the archaeology, architecture and urbanism of the area (Município de Lisboa, 2011)

3.2 Traditional Shops

In the above mentioned reconstruction process was important to pay attention to the structure of the buildings and hygienic functions, but also to the establishment of commercial activities and services. In fact, the role of commerce was essential, where “trade was a noble, necessary and profitable profession (...) that would set up a monopoly for this area (Teixeira, 2003, p.69). This is also evidenced by the guiding principle of organization of the streets in accordance to its commercial activities (or in honour of religious figures)³. The shops were located on the ground floor, followed by the respective workshops on the back or on the first floor. In fact, this area is known for being “(...) space of the artisans, traders and the shopkeepers (...)”, where “The Praça do Comércio becomes a ceremonial space, and later on, a centre of power” (Teixeira, 2003, p. 70).

The importance of these shops were briefly acknowledged in the Regulation for the Safeguard of Baixa Pombalina, by stating that those commercial spaces, designated by “Historical/Emblematic Shops”, which possess historical and heritage value, cannot be altered due to their architectural value (Município de Lisboa,2011). As it is possible to verify, the attention focused on the tangible aspects of these spaces, namely their

³ See Appendix A

architecture and urbanism.

However, it is interesting to mention that in 1998, the Government Department for Commerce and Competition, inspired by a previous similar action taken in 1993 by the same entity, released a program called *Lojas de Tradição e Qualidade* [Shops of Tradition and Quality]. It intended to attribute a stamp for the most historical commercial shops, but with adaptation to the consumption reality of that period. Elements such as the artistic project, representative of artistic movements such as the romanticism and modernism, its titles, paintings to wooden ceilings, decoration and some objects like old cash registers were valorised and linked to the memories of those spaces (Teixeira, 2003). In fact, the existence of elements of tangible heritage such as these previously mentioned, can generate cultural traditions (Guerzoni, 1997, in Rizzo and Throsby, 2006, p. 985). An example of this is the type of decoration and exposition of the products that enhance the senses (e.g. the smell of the coffee or the wine) and the uniqueness and diversity of the shops (*Lojas com Tradição*).

This concept of Traditional Shops is closely related with their activity, product, location and longevity, and some shops are complemented by a Workshop, centralizing the production and selling process in the same geographic area. These workshops were the proof of the production of a handmade and authentic product, like furniture, metal plaques, toys, jewels and textile, among others. The focus of the work was the quality and personalization of the product as a symbol of uniqueness of the products, their shop and their buyers. De Carvalho even refers that authenticity is “unique and genuine, between artisanal and urban civilizational traditions”, where the Shops are the ideal example of such definition (2005, p. 97).

In terms of social practices, the fact that the majority of the shops and workshops are managed as family businesses, expresses the transmission of knowledge and of the position of trader in a familiar environment, which helps to safeguard the commercial activity but also help in the association of the merchant with a storyteller, which also enhances this familiar commerce (Guimarães & Silva, 2016). In fact, the possibility to identify this group on the name of the streets, enhances the idea of commerce as a

process of exchange of goods and services as being one of the oldest practices conducted in communities. The demand follows the same generational path and social practice which makes Belo to affirm that the “biggest heritage are the clients, who elsewhere are not the same” (2015, p. 4).

Such traditional shops are a complex issue. Not only their consideration as cultural heritage is unclear, but also their economic viability is being questioned. Thus, the next part intends to look for answers to several aspects of this case study, namely whether these shops can be a lever for Baixa’s development.

4. Empirical setting

The previous chapter was dedicated to acknowledge the theory about the topic, while the present chapter concerns the practicability of those theories and concepts. The first section defines the methodology that was chosen for this research. The following section describes the units of analysis and respective method of selection. The third section contemplates the methods used to collect data collection while the fourth section outlines the methods of analyses and respective limitations.

4.1 Method

The main difference between qualitative and quantitative research is the interpretation of the facts through words or numbers, respectively. A qualitative research is more concerned with the understanding of the relation and organization of elements of the social world. As the intention of this research is to understand the relationship between heritage and local development, a qualitative method seems to be more appropriate. Thus, this research will be qualitative with an inductive approach, where “theory and categorization emerge out of the collection and analysis of data”, which means that the findings will promote the creation of a theory (Bryman, 2012, p. 384). The data will be collected through semi-structured interviews.

4.2 Units of analysis

To meet the objectives of this thesis, it is vital to select the unit of analysis that will bring understanding to the research.

In order to select the most relevant people for this research, the sampling approach that will be used is the purposive one. The choice of not choosing a random sampling method is due to the existence of specific actors and respective perspectives that need to be jointly considered and interpreted to get a full picture. The intention is to interview actors that belong to the public or private sphere (for and non profit) and that are specifically involved in the topic of the traditional shops or of Baixa’s development. Then, to the initial list of actors, some others will be added by using the snowball sampling

method. The reasons for using this second method which brings new actors suggested by the initial list of contacts was to be able to cross data between the interviews. Thus, the question 3.3 “Who do you think should be responsible for leading this process” will provoke such nominations. Thus, for those suggested actors an interview will be also requested.

4.3 Data Collection

To assure the right collection of information, an interview guide was created. Such guide is helpful to assure the right and complete collection of information. The interview may flow according to this guideline, but the questions and answers can occur in a different order, according to the interviewee’s contribution. In fact, the interview intends to be flexible with room to open new discussions that can enrich this research.

The interview is structured in a similar way as the literature review, which means that the first part analyses whether the traditional shops are or not cultural heritage, while the second part focus on how they can contribute to Baixa’s development.

It is noteworthy to refer that all interviews were face-to-face and held in Portuguese, due to the fact that both the case study and the interviewers are Portuguese, which can create a more familiar and accurate result by using their mother tongue. The majority of interviews were recorded, except those that were asked to not be recorded. Afterwards, the interviews were carefully analyzed and transcribed.

4.4 Data Analysis

To assure an accurate transcription, the online platform that was used was the oTranscribed (<http://otranscribe.com/>). This tool combines the audio file and the text editor in the same window, which allows an easier transcription. For those interviews that were not recorded, a record-keeping was made during the interview.

The analysis of the interviews was personally made. As some of the interviewers asked to keep their interviews private, all actors were associated to a code, to assure their privacy. First, the coding, division and respective categorization of the actors were made,

separating those from the public (Sector A), private for profit (Sector B) and private non-profit sphere (Sector C). Such categorization can be useful to understand any common pattern of data.

Second, to better analyze each interview, it was necessary to define some key words. Such key words were defined at the same time that the interview guide was made. Thus, a correspondence between the answers and those key words allowed a proper analysis of each interview. This method was registered on an excel file, which can be found on Appendix C. Some relevant information that does not fit into such categorization will be emphasized in the chapter of results.

Apart from this method, the question 2.1.1 and 2.1.4 (about the strategies that can be used for a local development process) required a different method of analysis, due to the range of different answers. Thus, a table was made contemplating the strategies, suggested by each interviewer, about how the traditional shops could contribute to Baixa's development. Then, they were compared through key words to the already existing strategies suggested on the second part of the literature review (Ashworth's theory) (Appendix D).

4.5 Limitations

A semi structured interview allows a more open conversation, where the interviewee is not constrained which allows a more honest and spontaneous answer. However, such openness may make difficult the reliability or validity of the research, once the interviewer feels more free to add information and examples, deviating from the prepared interview. Despite the collection of rich and relevant data, it always has some doubtfulness once it only focused on a certain population, which gives it own personal and professional insights and perspectives (Bryman, 2012). Not only the results are dependent on the interviewee, but the final result might be also biased by the researcher's interpretation and background information.

Finally, this method has some weaknesses in terms of validity and reliability, but which can be offset by the main advantages that are associated with the use of a qualitative research (Bryman, 2012).

5. Results

This part presents the results of the interviews. It is structured in a similar way as both the interview guide and the literature review. It begins with the founding data about cultural heritage of Baixa and its traditional shops. Then, the results related with Baixa's development will follow next.

5.1 Cultural Heritage

In some of the interviews the concept of heritage was evident. Shortly, is about the cultural production of a country (like museums, monuments, buildings, events, personalities, etc.), that embodies the identity and authenticity of a population. Interview A5 compares this cultural production and capital to a unique "box of knowledge", fulfilled with past experiences from which the population learns their own best practices and applies them when facing problems of the present.

On the opposite, a community with less cultural capital, can more easily be manipulated. In fact, C4 refers how sometimes the destruction of cultural heritage takes place in order to erase the identity of a community. Such reality is frequent in war situations, such as in Syria nowadays and in Dubrovnik in the 90's.

Moreover, while some interviewees associated heritage to a historical legacy, others emphasized the existence of modern assets, where such combination between old and new are a source of differentiation and attraction. Despite the time frame of heritage, there is a notion of preservation and transmission for the following generations, revealing the existence of non-use values, such as the bequest value.

All these different insights confirm what Benhamou (2011) affirms to be difficult in outlining the concept of heritage, and its Portuguese interpretation follows the same path. In fact, A1 refers how such definition rather than stable, is flexible and dynamic, once it is constantly being updated with the inclusion of new and different types of cultural heritage assets.

5.1.1 Heritage in Baixa

When asked about examples of heritage in Baixa, several examples were given. First, more than 50% of the interviewees referred to the urbanism of this area. This category is related with the construction of a new city after the earthquake and respective intention to resist to future catastrophes (A5). The main feature of this new urban design is the anti-seismic structure of the buildings and the materials of construction. These buildings were carefully thought, with a special attention to their utilization. An example of this consideration is the existence of non residential space on the main and first floor, dedicated to shops and workshops (C3). Besides this construction features, the name and distribution of the streets according to their commercial activities were also mentioned as representative of a commercial legacy and of an “emporium” (A5).⁴

The interviewees also referred to some monuments like the Arch of Augusta’ Street, the Theatre D. Maria, both main squares and the Santa Justa Elevator. Only two actors mentioned the presence of museums (like the archeological center, Lisbon Story Center, Museum of Money) and churches while others mentioned other elements like the design of the sidewalk (Calçada à Portuguesa), the exterior decoration of buildings with tiles and the presence of a historical and political legacy associated with certain personalities (such as Almada Negreiros and Fernando Pessoa) and historical places (like the Martinho da Arcada). Although only two actors mentioned the 25th of Abril (1974, end of dictatorship) and the instauration of the First Republic in 1910 as national events (B3), some actors associate Baixa with more personal memories and traditions that characterize a certain lifestyle or historical period (e.g. Modernism movement).

The combination of all these single elements constitutes Baixa as a site, which the majority of the actors considered the main example of cultural heritage, which in fact is classified as national heritage (A1) and municipal heritage (A2).

It is possible to include all these individual elements and Baixa as a site into the previously mentioned UNESCO’s concept of Cultural Heritage. But, as such concept entails some critics related with a major focus on tangible heritage, the same situation happens

⁴ This commercial role of Baixa will be better developed in the next section 5.1.2 Traditional Shops as Cultural Heritage

within this case study, revealed by the majority of examples of tangible heritage that were given by the interviewees.

5.1.2 Traditional Shops as Cultural Heritage

As mentioned, when analyzing the previous question about examples of heritage in Baixa, only five interviewees immediately indicated the existence of a commercial legacy of this area. However, when directly asked whether the traditional shops can be considered heritage, the majority answered yes. Furthermore, while some actors attributed more value to the shop itself, others gave more attention to the activity and associated knowledge and craftsmanship, whereas others focused their attention on the sellable product. Even the small number of actors that did not consider these shops as heritage (because they are no longer interesting or adequate to the consumption reality of nowadays), they mention their importance for the identity and authenticity of the area. This is a very interesting point, because it reflects the extent and complexity that the concept of heritage can have and how the consideration of an asset varies from person to person. Also, while the consideration of Baixa and heritage assets confirmed the common trend of a bigger attention given to tangible heritage, when asked about the traditional shops, several tangible and intangible elements were equally identified, inherent to this division.

First, it is important to distinguish the shop, the activity and the product and their tangible and intangible elements:

-Traditional Shops

A5 refers how these shops are part of the site but are also its beam, which leaves room to analyze their particular characteristics, like their artistic project and respective exterior and interior decoration, furniture and artifacts that help to consider their space as picturesque. They are also recognized due to their insertion in Baixa's urbanism, especially their façades which, according to Towse (2010) are perfect examples of a public good, once their appreciation is neither rival or excludable. However, they have a private owner, which allows their categorization as a private good with public characteristics.

-Product and activity

Some mention the product and respective commercial activity as the key heritage elements, specially due to the uniqueness of the product, created by some specific knowledge. In turn, the workshops and respective streets designation, the materials and the working tools are examples of tangible components. Also, aspects such as being a national product are used to enhance the product and its production.

Despite these specific elements about the product, shop and activity, there are other features of the traditional shops that were referred as heritage components. First, their antiquity, which is assured by their transmission to the following generations. As it is a familiar business, the knowledge associated with the activity is transmitted to the future successors, which are also in charge of preserving the historical memories of such place. C2 also considers these spaces as culturally important for their political and social relevance as gathering centers of artists, politicians and of society in general, which enhances their role as identity keepers. As an individual or a social group, such spaces of encounter were representative of a lifestyle, associated with the memories of each person and of the city itself.

As previously analyzed, such identity and lifestyle is commonly associated with the concept of intangible heritage, which, in turn, links it with the concept of authenticity (Goto, 2013). However, such association can be limited, once some tangible elements have intrinsic intangible value (Rizzo & Throsby, 2006). In this case, the combination of all these tangible and intangible elements can even better demonstrate the authenticity of the traditional shops. Besides, all these elements represent the previously mentioned Klamer's personal, social, cultural and societal values of the traditional shops (2013). Such reality allows the inclusion of these traditional shops into what Rizzo and Throsby (2006) designates as cultural capital, by exemplifying how the cultural value of these shops makes them differ from other commercial assets. Another related topic is that they are environmental friendly, once their local production does not produce high levels of waste, neither require the needs of major transportation or storage needs associated with the

use of plastics. Thus, they also contribute to what is another pillar of the Local Agenda 21 which is the environment sustainability (See Chapter 2.2).

The other side of the concept of cultural capital is the financial valorization, which in this case is a difficult issue. Whether by being a commercial space or a heritage asset, its use value expressed by the consumption level is low. Actually, its financial unviability is one of the reasons for its closure. However, the commercial and cultural importance that has been given to these shops, expressed by the current debate and the outcome of the interviews, show how these shops are appreciated, which represents the non-use values. When talking about the financial valorization of these shops, some actors compared Baixa to Chiado, which is a neighborhood located next to Baixa. After a big fire in 1988, this area revitalized its commerce and rehabilitated its facilities, with the intention to be a modernized and trendy. Some actors explain its cultural and financial success by the fact that is a smaller area, with more cultural and leisure facilities, reason why it attracts both residents and tourists, by day and night, in comparison to Baixa, which some interviewees accuse it to be poorly explored by private and public actors. This is interesting to analyze from the perspective of the neighbor dilemma, to see how the rehabilitation of a place can promote the same in the next neighborhood or, as in this case, can increase the difference between both, by attracting more investments, people, etc., than the other area. B1 even highlights Baixa's geographical conditions, comparing this area to a smaller Manhattan, which can favor more commercial and cultural activities. In fact, A1 highlights that not only the urban design of Baixa is a component that distinguishes it from a shopping mall but also the traditional shops are the main element of attraction that can catch the attention of both visitors and consumers.

Also, this commercial amenity is closely related with the concept of experience goods. The activity, the local product, the existence of commercial traditions enhances the characteristics of the product from traditional shops, which is pursued due to those features. Thus, the link between creativity and experience is something that derives from the longevity of these shops and respective cultural and social appreciation (A3). Another characteristic that allows the application of this concept is the dependence on a personal

experience and respective information sharing, which in this case is mostly transmitted by word-of-mouth. This relates the already mentioned selling tradition from family producers to family consumers and peers and respective creation of a closed circle of consumers, which also helps in promoting the products (A2). In fact, such transmission reaches international audiences, who come with the reference and purpose of visiting certain shops as cultural and commercial attractions. Despite the assumption that experience goods need to change constantly to remain attractive⁵, the intention is to keep this traditional commerce unchanged, once it is the key for the consumption experience in Baixa. However, it is important to quickly refer that some modernization is required, but mostly to enhance and adapt traditional commerce to nowadays type of consumption and not to change its reality. This will be further analyzed in the next chapter.

5.1.3 Threats

Loosing the authenticity of this area is the main concern of the current debate nowadays about Baixa, which considers the disappearance of these shops as responsible of the des-characterization of the area (Lusa, 2015).

Despite this area was residentially abandoned at least a decade ago, only the danger of physical destruction for the construction of hotels and other related touristic services opened the debate about the preservation of these shops. This shows how non-use values are commonly expressed in situations where the asset is endangered.

The first thing to consider is the legislation factor, which stabled some rules about the ownership and usage of buildings, which positioned these shops in an unstable position. In more detail, the current Rental Law updated the contracts for periods of five years and raised the rental costs to prices that neither residents, nor shop keepers could support. Also, in case of the owner of the building desires to do any type of construction or requalification work, he/she can cancel the rental agreement and send an eviction notice within only six months (Baixa de Lisboa, 2016). This can be analyzed from two different points of view. On one hand, the owners of the buildings could not afford any

⁵ See in Chapter 2.1.5 Forms of Protection

construction work due to low rental costs, which lead to the abandonment of certain residential buildings due to lack of living conditions. On the other hand, these type of commercial shops were businesses more envisioned to the subsistence of the family and not to create profit, which also prevented an adaptation and improvement of certain commercial activities to nowadays type of consumption (A1).

The Labor Law also hampers some modernization, once it difficult firing employees with more than ten years of service, which prevents the modernization of these shops (B1).

Both situations created a stagnant Baixa, that only recovered with the current touristic flow. In fact, the tourist pressure revealed the necessity to have more hotels and accommodation services which, combined with the lack of private and public investment for the rehabilitation of Baixa, created an opportunity for the foreign real estate investment. In this context, the shops are devaluated, once their landlord can cancel the rental agreement or even sell the asset without taking into consideration the existence of certain commercial spaces. Thus, these shops have been replaced by hotel or other touristic services (Baixa de Lisboa, 2016). This situation is being contested once a possible consequence is the a des-characterization of the area and loss of cultural attraction. A6 and B3 refer the importance of real estate investment to overcome the lack of public and private funding due to the financial crisis, which should be used in the rehabilitation and preservation of the cultural heritage. However, several actors refer some illegal activities and corruption schemes associated with this type of foreign real estate investment, such as money laundry and tax evasion. They also alert for the risk of tourism gentrification. In this case, the gentrification is not what Orbasli (2000) associates with the exit of residents due to high rental costs (once the residents had already left due to factors such as the conditions of the buildings, the unsafe environment, etc.) but to the forced departure of shopkeepers due to the high rental costs and the willingness to create touristic services in their previous spaces. This has several social and cultural consequences for the area, namely the risk of (tourist) desertification after the re-opening of some touristic destination that are currently inaccessible due to the risk of terrorism.

Other external factors that are threatening these shops are the new consumption habits. A1 denounces shopping malls and the franchisings as being the major competitors of Baixa. Globalization brought international brands that actually choose their location in Baixa due to the high level of tourists (A3). But while traditional shops are synonymous of a cultural dimension but do not contribute to economic development, such franchisings are responsible for bringing economic revenues but their homogeneous commerce and spaces replace the uniqueness of the cultural and commercial reality of this area (A1). On one side, the coexistence between old and new cultural and commercial habits can promote an efficient equilibrium between both type of assets. For example, from being located next to these traditional shops, a franchising shop located in Baixa shares the experience factor associated with their commercial legacy. On the other side, the financial returns retrieved from this modern shops, which better fulfil the needs of a youngest and tourist audience can replace the traditional commerce and its cultural environment (Nogueira, 2015). According to Klamer's framework (2013), this is an example of financial valorisation crowding out cultural values, which may represent a risk for the enjoyment of the cultural asset by both present and future generations.

Another situation closely related is the appropriation of heritage by new businesses that, instead of preserving it, use it in their promotion. Also, some actors identified the prevalence of shops of souvenirs of foreign production that, not only despise the attention to the quality, design and originality of a souvenir (B2), but are also suspects of more serious issues such as illegal immigration (B4). Martinotti warns for a possible "de-franchising of the city user", where the search for economic rewards despise other dimensions, like the personal, social and cultural one (1997, as cited in Russo, 2002, p. 11), highlighting the need for a strategy that entails both cultural and financial dimensions.

In terms of demand, this is a disloyal competition once Baixa was previously associated with quality commerce and not with lower prices, which is now unavoidable due to consumer's lack of buying capacity provoked by the financial crisis (B1). Also, the consumers became more exigent in the search for the best way to fulfill their own needs,

due to the easy access to information, ratings and opinions as well as to the existence of several options for the same product or service. And, in this case, some actors refer that their traditional products are no longer demanded due to their lack of competitiveness. However, it is interesting to analyze that the current demand also drifted the attention to another criteria rather than quality and price, such as authenticity. This trend is one of the arguments of the current debate about the protection of these traditional shops.

Associated with the change of consumption habits, the existence of other forms of entertainment (like cinema, parks, exhibitions, etc.) is also a threat, which compete not in terms of commerce but in terms of cultural and social experience. Despite B1 referred that a day in Baixa used to be considered a day well spent, no one mentioned different forms of entertainment as a threat to the shops. This may be interpreted as the fact that the traditional shops and Baixa lost its leisure component that used to characterize them. In fact, A1 mentions that Baixa without a representative activity such as traditional shops will die. B1 blames the previous and present generation to not be educated to enjoy visiting the city center and to contribute to the local commerce. The other external factor that contributed to this situation is the traffic conditions. While for some actors, the lack of parking and the difficult access by private means is an obstacle, for others the circulation of cars is what prevents people from going to visit and shop in Baixa.

Despite the several debates and different opinions about these external threats, the majority of the interviewees referred to some threats that are caused by the type of management of these shops. First, the age of the shopkeepers is an obstacle to the adaptation to the consumption rhythm of nowadays. Then, from the work schedule, to the type of customer service there is a deficiency of management skills and consequent lack of adjustment to the needs and tastes of the current demand. Despite these disadvantages, it is important to remember how this type of commerce was a lifetime investment, supposed to be a business transmitted to the following generations, which allows some of them to reach about 100 years of existence. This reality, next to the fact that the average of a current commercial shop of 25 years, highlight their exceptionality and antiquity as something to be preserved (C4). Also, B1 refers how the working

schedules of Baixa's shops are in favor of the workers, once they promote familiar gatherings at least at the end of the day and weekends. However, some actors contradict this argument by saying that these commercial spaces should have a working schedule different than the common one, to allow the consumption in this area (A3).

After being asked to identify the main threats of these traditional spaces, the interviewees suggested some forms of preservation, as it will be analyzed on the next part.

5.1.4 Forms of preservation

As already mentioned, this area was the target of a preservation strategy supported by its national and municipal classification. However, during the process of Baixa's application to World Heritage List, A6 affirms that the UNESCO's criteria were more focused on architecture and urbanism, which left these shops and commercial role as background information. In fact, only the appearance of a threat of physical destruction awakened for the necessity of their individual preservation.

The majority of the interviewees answered that regulation should be the best way to preserve heritage. A classification procedure can also help to improve the information regarding the asset, as a form of fighting a source of market failure, and even catch the attention of investors (A5). It is interesting to notice how the central administration talks about a process of classification once they are the authorized authority to do so, while local authorities use the word distinction to identify a municipal (not national) classification (A2). This is demonstrated by the target of their programs where the first intends to classify only 10 most traditional shops as national heritage, while the local government has a database of approximately 300 traditional shops. Such situation allows understanding that, despite their sphere of action, classification is considered a duty of the public sphere, even though it differs from a national to a local ambition, and how challenging can be to combine the ideas and create a unique and common program between different forms of government. Specially because, even though the classification

is a free procedure, the valorization and promotion of the asset imply costs, which requires the involvement of more public and private actors (A1).

The idea of the local government is based on a distinction through three different sets of criteria such as the activity (like longevity, own and national production and uniqueness of the product); tangible heritage (artistic project, interior, working tools); and cultural and historical heritage (more related with the documentation and support about the contribution of the shop to the commercial history of Lisbon). There is a total of 21 criteria and the shop needs to achieve a minimum score of 50% of the total of criteria, to be to receive the distinction of “Loja com História” [Shop with History] and respective access to several benefits such as financial assistance (Câmara Municipal, 2016). This score punctuation system is so exigent due to the fact that, while the first round of selected shops are the ones that were already referred in others heritage documents (mostly related with their outdoor aspect and respective integration in Baixa’s urbanism), the official procedure takes place through the application of the shop itself to this distinction. Even if a traditional shop fails in achieving certain criteria, it is moved to a different stage, where it will receive advices of how to improve. Also, this program includes a consulting board with people from the public, private non profit and for profit sphere for a better approach (A2).

Classification is one way to preserve. Another method is based on the creation of rules and standards that safeguard the original characteristics of the asset. Such type of regulation, helps to preserve mostly built assets, but there is a lack of introduction of modern techniques that can be more suitable and efficient for rehabilitation or even valorization works, for instance the application of new features (such as lights) that not only avoids the deterioration of the asset but enhances it through modern techniques (De Carvalho, 2005). In this way, the regulation may not be strict but an open subject to be debated for each case, in order to find the right balance between the traditional function of these shops and their association with a modern environment.

This is associated with administrative costs, like control and supervision. Several actors referred the problem of corruption of the supervisors, while others mention their

relevant role and need to have more supervisors. However, A2 mentions how each citizen has the duty to observe and protect its own public heritage, by denouncing situations as billboards or tarpaulins in the facades of the traditional shops which detriment their integration in Baixa's urbanism (C5). Such complaints can easily be done nowadays through the use of social networks such as Facebook and Instagram. In fact, the shop itself and its commercial legacy is of public interest, even though it is a private good where its owner is the main responsible, which limits the action of public authorities about the property itself. A suggestion to overcome such obstacle was to create a negotiation environment, lead by the local government, where the owners, shopkeepers and potential investors or buyers can reach a common solution. This in fact helped already in safeguarding one traditional shop, where the owner supported by the local government only agreed to sell the building if the shop could remain as it is (C4). As many actors refers, it is important to call the attention to the benefits in terms of attraction of having this shops next to the entrance of hotels which can add value and be a source of attraction. And this type of negotiation can help in such clarification, specially when the majority of buyers are foreign and their profit ambition blurs any cultural aspect (B3).

Another solution that can directly help preserving these shops is by changing the Rental Agreement, not directly with the rental procedure but with the eviction notice (A2). The intention is to introduce a simple clause referring that, in case of any reconstruction work of the building or change of function/owner, where there is a traditional shop integrated, the same space needs to be kept, to enable the traditional shop to continue its function (Lusa, 2015).

Another major tool for the protection of these traditional shops is through financial support. The first possibility is the creation of a budget (similar to a subsidy) by the central or local government dedicated to rehabilitation and heritage preservation works, improvement of some related conditions (such as traffic regulations and parking, safety), or even to assist in the payment of the rents in case of deficit, avoiding putting in danger both the commercial and cultural sustainability of the shops (Alemão, 2015). Another suggestion is a type of award to those who contribute to national production. The

reduction of taxes was another proposal, as a redirection of shops' small profit to their own business and cultural valorization.

There are other solutions more related with support and transmission. One suggestion is monetary, suggesting that franchisings located in Baixa could pay part of the rent of these traditional shops, once they benefit from their presence and respective visitors. Also, in cases where the viability of the shop is no longer feasible, there is an intention to create an open discussion with the interested company who wants to establish its activity in the space of the previous Shop. In this case, the company may assure the preservation of the interior and may even use it as a way to promote itself by conserving the heritage of a certain space.

The other suggestion is in terms of assistance and training, by providing marketing and management advices or even the creation of a network of people with different knowledge namely from cultural and economic fields of expertise.

Where it is not possible to continue the business due to the lack of a familiar successor, B4 suggests finding commercially related heirs instead of familiar successors. This can be linked with the existence of entrepreneurs and even start ups that can be connected to these traditional shops and shopkeepers and use their legacy to reinvent or inspire other business. This can help in preventing the appropriation as an immoral form of preservation. In fact, is not only about transmitting more recent types of knowledge such as marketing but also to enhance the transmission of knowledge associated with ancient skills and activities that these shopkeepers have (A2). As previously mentioned, Goto (2013) affirms how the transmission of past crafts and techniques by the present generation can assure their protection. This can be associated with the merit good argument where monetary and non-monetary investment in the transmission of knowledge from a former craft activity can be important for educational purposes, as well as in the creation of employment and in the application of such knowledge in different sectors, which in turn can be an interesting source of income. According to B3, an example of such interaction took place in a project called "Combo" lead by the designer Sara Lamurias, MUDE and EGEAC. A different project also took place in these traditional spaces

with an organized theatre named “Teatro das Compras” [Shopping theatre]. This happens every year since 2008, where small plays demonstrate the real essence of buying and selling in these shops and their “historical, cultural and commercial identity”, inspired by Portuguese writers that combine their products and memories into a single story (“Espectáculos de teatro”, 2006).

Finally, some other suggestions were related with the establishment of a commercial museum or with the creation of guided tours, maps and similar dynamic activities that could embrace both cultural and commercial realities of these shops. A specific idea is the creation of a shopping guide targeted to foreign visitors, contemplating the different commercial realities of Lisbon, from the trendiest ideas to the traditional commerce (A2).

Some actors mention that, despite these shops being heritage, is important to keep them alive and not artificially preserved, once commerce and also culture needs to be animated and integrated in a modern lifestyle (B1). It is about an equilibrium between its commercial function and respective profit and financial viability adapted to nowadays without damaging their identity, their cultural valorization and their historical importance for the city (A2). It is important to highlight that these shops, whether by their economic or financial value need an audience and profit (A3). This may be difficult to accomplish, exemplified by the current situation that they are facing, but a combination of these several forms of protection can actually help to achieve both types of cultural and financial valorization. In fact, and as this case study is not an exception in terms of classification being the main suggestion for the protection of heritage, as different types of classification are at stake due to the different range of intervenient, it is even more important to look for more stable and efficient sets of solutions. Also, the presence of the government as a major protector of such assets, shows the need for more private actions, from the owners’ willingness to prevent the disappearance of the shop to major private entities that can join this heritage cause. It is noteworthy to understand that the preservation of heritage may bargain costs, but it can also become an interesting source of income (C1).

5.2 Heritage and local development

When asked if these traditional shops could lead to Baixa's development, the majority of actors answered affirmatively and suggested some strategies to achieve that purpose⁶. It was possible to identify a major difference between the suggestions of the interviewees. While some considered these shops capable of being the leading figure of a process of local development, due to their cultural and commercial function in the area, others proposed strategies based on a combined and equal effort between shops with other assets and services, such as museums, monuments, hotels, urban conditions, where each element has its own contribution. Either way, it was possible to categorize all the suggested strategies according to Ashworth's theory⁷.

Apart from these suggestions, the majority of the interviewees referred the urgent need to create a balance between accommodation functions and commercial activities as well as to improve the traffic conditions of the area, whether by creating more facilities to private transportation or by increasing public transports.

5.2.1 Target

When walking throughout Baixa, it is possible to verify the crowd of people, mainly tourists. Despite their presence being considered a danger to the authenticity of the area, it is their presence that solved the problems of unsafety and desertification that use to characterize Baixa in this last decade (A3). Thus, and taking into consideration the financial returns from tourism, tourists are and will continue to be a target of any local development strategy. In fact, A5 refers the need of more cultural attractions that can bring more cultural tourists. The relation between tourism and these traditional shops can actually be enhanced by the fact that they are internationally recognized and promoted. A2 affirms that tourists are the main clients of these shops once they actually order some products at a distance and pick them when arrive to Portugal. The sellers refer the crowd of tourists that not only visit it but also look for items that the tourists do not find in their

⁶ The several suggested strategies can be consulted on Appendix C.

⁷ The categorization of the strategies into Ashworth's theory can be found on Appendix D.

own country, using it as a type of authentic souvenir, which reveals the use value of these shops (Guimarães & Silva, 2016).

Despite the importance of tourists in any historical city center, it is urgent to create conditions for a residential amenity in Baixa. Not only because it is what keeps the lifestyle as authentic, but because residents look for local products and services that can enhance the commercial role of Baixa (A1).

Some actors suggested the creation of residences for young couples and university students. This is seen as a win-win situation, once they can benefit from being in the city center and benefit from the use of public transportation. On the other hand, their presence can attract several types of leisure facilities and businesses, which can increase daily movement and consequent increase of the safety environment of the area. Also, this type of residents does not require certain conditions as an elevator, which prevents alterations on the building itself and on its anti seismic characteristics, which are considered heritage.

In fact, a proper balance between accommodation for residents and for tourists can be a source of an interesting lifestyle.

Alongside with the need for residents, it is also urgent to call the attention of each citizen that may contribute to maintain this area genuine. As consumers, they can motivate the establishment of entertainment services. Also, companies like start ups can help to bring a younger audience and to motivate the variety of brands, products, elevating the role of local commerce.

5.2.2 Actors

In all interviews, there was a common actor that was considered the main responsible for leading the process of local development of Baixa based on these traditional shops, which was Lisbon's Municipality.

The second main actor was DGPC, which is the central authority in charge of any process of classification of heritage. Some actors also mentioned the role of the central government and of the Ministry of Culture and of Economy, particularly to fight the Rental

Agreement. Despite the dependence of criteria defined by the central government, specially from DGPC, the fact that the main pointed actor is a local authority reveals a decentralisation trend. However, among these local and central authorities resides the problem of uncertainty about the limits of each sphere of action.

The private non-profit sphere was also targeted as responsible for establishing strategies to promote local development. In this case, specific actors such as associations of citizens or cultural and commercial organizations, especially those that are located in Baixa can have a more active role in tasks as supervision, promotion and even in influencing the central and local authorities. This can be demonstrated by the amount of articles and initiatives that are developed for and within these shops that show a constant preoccupation for their maintenance by citizens. In fact, this sudden mass involvement reveals the existence of non-use values associated to these traditional shops. The major example of such cherish was the creation of an association of citizens and respective website “Círculo das Lojas” (<http://circulolojas.org>) who jointly propose measures and strategies for the protection of the shops, including a list of criteria descriptive of what is a traditional shop but also mentioning most recent and modern shops that, due to their effort of preservation and integration of innovative businesses deserve to be recognized (Princípios Orientadores). Such association created so much pressure that they are now included as consultants in the municipality’s program for these shops. This is an example of a common effort between the public and the private (non-profit) to achieve a mutual target.

Finally, some interviewees revealed that a bigger presence of the private for profit sphere could help to bring financial attention such as investments and advices for this development process. A good action is through patronage, where the private entity supports financially (and sometimes technically) the rehabilitation of certain assets (C1). In this particular case, the position of the owner and investor interested in any asset in Baixa is of extremely importance, once they are the ones who can promote a proper balance in maintaining the area’s lifestyle.

As possible to verify, each sphere has different functions and methods of action.

However, it is the influence and mutual participation that can help to achieve better results. In fact, a negotiation between private entities such as real estates and landlords with public bodies such as Lisbon's municipalities can help to find a proper and balanced solution that can please every intervention, preventing the closure of these shops.

5.3 Conclusion

The combination of proposed strategies, the targeted audience and the actors responsible for leading such strategies resulted in three main strategies based on Ashworth's theory (2013)⁸. The second and the third most suggested strategies are heritage as a location factor and heritage as place-identifier, respectively. These two strategies are very close and were inspired by the identification of Baixa as a commercial site, where the traditional shops are its identity card, together with other types of commerce that enjoy from such location. It is this coexistence between different forms of commerce that leaves room for introducing the most suggested strategy of heritage as a place-promotion.

In this strategy, the traditional shops are the leading figure and they can work simultaneously as commercial spaces and as heritage assets. First, it was suggested to implement the municipal program "Lojas com história" [Shops with History], once it intends to create a brand of traditional shops for their own safeguarding and promotion. Those shops that are no longer competitive could be integrated in such brand but as a type of museum, by maintaining their products related with a past lifestyle and rehabilitate the old commercial activities and turn them into the center of a cultural program fulfilled with guided tours, cultural activities, among other initiatives.

Then, this brand of traditional shops would be the lever of a place-promotion strategy where the final goal is the creation of Baixa's brand, as being a cultural and commercial downtown. This is complemented by other assets such as monuments, museums, franchising's, which are enhanced by the unique urbanism of Baixa. The intention is to achieve different audiences, from residences to visitors, that can fulfil their

⁸ Such results can be found on Appendix D.

needs by the variety of products and services. In fact, it is important to bet on the unique features that distinguish certain places and in this case, the integration of tiles, enhancing the design of the sidewalk or even re-integrate the name of the streets help in such differentiation. For example, both cultural and low-cost tourists can be attracted by the variety of attractions and, as they have different types of consumption, their interest can contribute for increasing the variety of the supply offer. Such goal looks for reaching an equilibrium between tourism, businesses, leisure and local residence, where such combination is vital for local differentiation, which is the major objective of a place-promotion strategy. Also, some external factors namely the weather and political stability can be used to enhance such local brand.

In this strategy every actor has a role to play. First, the public sphere can retrieve the majority of the benefits from this local economy, which in turn makes them the most interested sphere in creating such strategy. In this case, the public sphere already took the first step, by introducing a process of classification and improving the regulation associated with the preservation of heritage. Secondly, private for profit actors can contribute with their expertise in marketing and management guidelines and as investors of different fields, whether in the direct heritage rehabilitation, or by creating businesses and bringing entrepreneurs and a business amenity. In fact, there are several trends that highlighted the role of local production, healthy habits and crafts activities, where these traditional shops can serve as example and, in turn, enjoy the opportunity of modernization. Finally, the role of the private non profit sphere is extremely relevant. Local and cultural actors have the better knowledge of the place and can consequently contribute to its cultural assimilation, once they can trigger the creation of partnerships and a single network of contacts and events. Also, everyone can help to promote by consuming and through social media and networks to promote this reality.

Correctly applied, this strategy enhances the financial capital of these traditional shops, as something that “costs money, an inconvenient that can be offset by its potential to earn money” (Ashworth, 2013, pp. 371); and valorizes its cultural capital by being the center of such place-promotion strategy.

Actually it is interesting as some actors reinforced the fact that these shops were the lever of Baixa after the earthquake (A3) and they seem to have the same task nowadays in the context of the financial crisis.

6. Conclusion and discussion

This research concluded that heritage can be a lever for local development, illustrated by the case study of Baixa's traditional shops.

First, the attempt of considering these traditional shops as cultural heritage assets was successful. This shows how flexible is the concept of cultural heritage, once it reflects the cultural production of a country. Its association with a cultural valorization can be an interesting path to explore and an opportunity to create an efficient cultural policy, specially in the context of a financial crisis which is happening in Portugal. However, the integration of heritage is a complex choice, due to the costs associated with the promotion of heritage. The use of classification methods to preserve it may be useful, but is important to avoid freezing the asset in such lists and promote it as a lever for development (Cominelli & Greffe, 2006)

Thus, this local development based on cultural heritage can, not only motivate the interaction of dimensions such as economy and environment, but can also unite them into a single policy (Understanding Sustainable Development). However, such accomplishment requires the effort and willingness of the public sphere, which continues to be the major guardian of cultural heritage. Thus, it becomes more crucial to invite other actors to participate in the cultural field and to show how heritage is a potential source of development as well as of (local) differentiation, which is starting to become a priority in this globalized societies.

6.1 Research limitations

This research had a sampling bias, caused by the unwillingness of some actors to participate, once it is a hot topic and associated with media attention. Also, there were some actors that were suggested by formers, but were not interviewed because they were not directly relevant to the research or were similar to others already interviewed. It was also interesting to analyze as the discourse of some actors changed to a more formal and strict one when asked permission to record the interview.

Also, comparing forms of protection with local development strategies was a hard task, once they overlap in certain features, which makes it difficult to fully distinguish them. Thus, the categorization of the case study into Ashworth's theory was a challenging task, which is in fact one of the disadvantages of dealing with words instead of numbers as in quantitative researches.

For future research, the suggestion would be to extend the sample in order to assure the representation of more actors from the public and private spheres.

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APPENDIX A: Distribution and designation of the streets in Baixa (Teixeira, 2003, p. 69)

Main streets:

Rua Nova d'El-Rei (Capelistas) – There should be installed the merchants of trinkets; the remaining stores should be for the other merchant's sales, such as the crockery from India, tea and other goods of their trade.

Rua Augusta – Merchants of wood and silk, and if these shops will not be enough, the ones situated at Travessa de Santa Just should be used.

Rua Aurea (Rua do Ouro)– Goldsmiths and the ones which are left over should accommodate the watchmakers and the volunteers.

Rua Bella da Rainha (Rua da Prata) – The silversmiths, and the additional stores will lodge the booksellers who were living neighbourhood before.

Rua Nova da Princeza (Faqueiros) – The cloth merchants will occupy the shops that have been left over by the trinket merchants

Secondary streets

Rua dos Doiradores – This street will be destined to the gilders and tinsmiths, and the remaining stores can be tents, taverns or other trades.

Rua dos Correeiros (Travessa da Palha) – the saddlers and the turners will have theirs on this street.

Rua dos Sapateiros (Arco da Bandeira) – The shoemakers should be settled on one side, and the other will be free for the public's diverse needs.

Rua de S. Julião (Algibebe) – Will be the first cross street, and there will be installed the sellers of clothes.

Rua da Conceição (Retrozeiros) – will be the second cross street and there will be installed the haberdasheries.

Rua de S. Nicolau (Travessa de S. Nicolau ou Pote das Almas) – will be the third cross street and will be for the shops that can fit there in.

Rua da Victoria (Travessa) – will be the fourth cross street and there will be accommodated the remaining shops.

Rua da Assumpção (Travessa) – will be the fifth cross street and there will be installed the silk spinners and the hat-makers.

Rua de Santa Justa (Travessa) – will be the sixth and the last cross street that will be for those who will not have enough accommodation in Rua Augusta.

APPENDIX B – Interview Guide

Fore steps:

Express thankfulness for the collaboration and participation in this research;

Introduce myself (Name, Master, motivation for this thesis)

Introduce research (Research Question, aim, theory and case study)

Introduce interview (duration, structure, relevance of the interview in question)

Permission to use voice recorder

Introduction:

Name:

Institution/company:

Public/private (for profit)/ private (non profit) Sphere:

Work position:

Questions:

1. BAIXA'S TRADITIONAL SHOPS

1.1 In your opinion, what examples of heritage exist in Baixa?

Open answer

Check if mentions the following points:

Monuments (eg. Arco da Rua Augusta)

Museums (eg. MUDE)

Churches

Urbanism (street layout, urban decoration elements, anti-seismic Architecture of the buildings)

Historic places/events/personalities

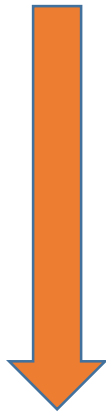
Commercial legacy

Baixa as a site

Other

1.2 And the Traditional Shops, do you consider them as a Heritage asset?

Yes



No



1.2.1 Why?

Open answer

JUMP TO Q. 1.3

1.2.2 Based on which characteristics can you affirm that these Shops can be considered heritage?

Open answer

Check if mentions the following points:

Tangible elements (eg. Name of the streets, workshops, decoration, etc)

Intangible elements (eg. Family business, sense of community, shopping experience, etc.)

1.3 Taking into consideration the current debate about the future of these Shops, which are their major threats?

Open answer

Check if mentions the following points:

New forms of entertainment

New consumption habits

Population ageing

Public/private transportation access

Franchisings

Lack of consumers

Legislation

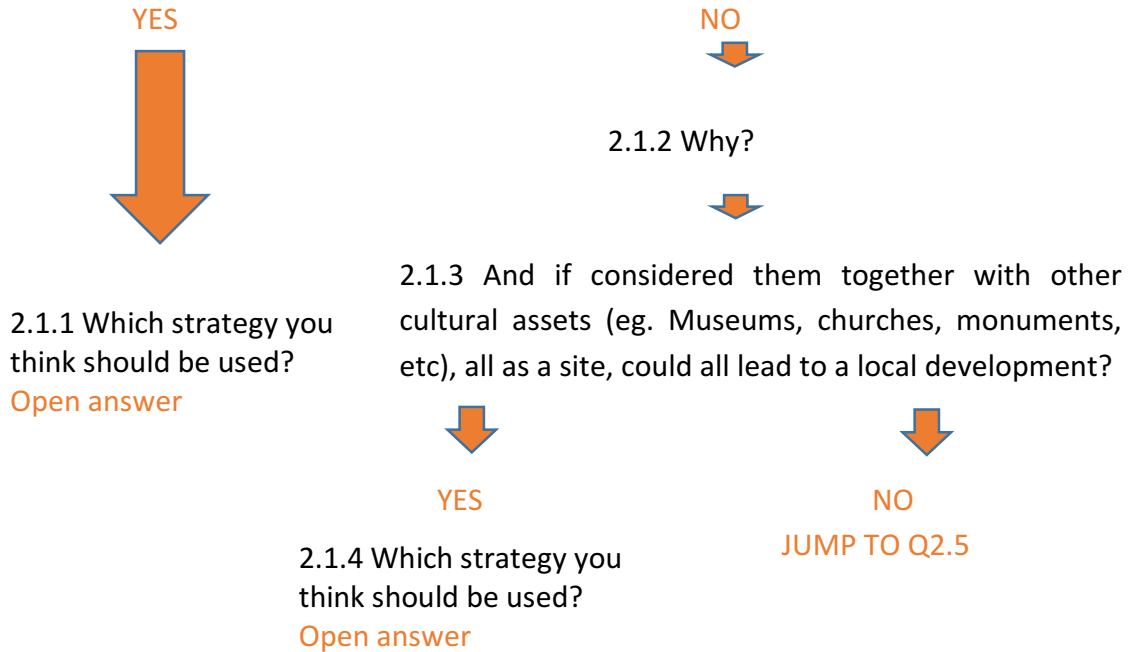
Other

1.4 In your opinion, which would be the best solution for the preservation of the Shops?

Open answer (eg. Regulation, financial support, etc)

2. BAIXA'S DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Do you believe that the Traditional Shops themselves, can lead to the Baixa's development?



2.2 Who should be the target to that local development process?

- Residents
- Tourists
- Companies/businesses
- Others

2.3 Taking into consideration the role of your **association**, which belongs to the **public/private for profit/private non profit sector**, who do you think could should be responsible for leading this process?

Open answer (eg. City Hall, public-private partnerships, etc)

2.4 According to the strategy you proposed, what will be the major (positive or negative) consequence?

Open answer

2.5 Do you intend to add any more information to this interview? Open answer

APPENDIX C – Results of the Interviews

Question 1.1: What examples of heritage exist in Baixa?

	Monuments	Museums	Churches	Urbanism	Historic places/ events/persona lities	Commercial legacy	Baixa as a site	Other
				1		1	1	
PUBLIC	1			1			1	1
SPHERE	1	1					1	
(Sector_A)							1	
				1			1	
				1			1	
Total A	2	1	0	3	0	1	5	1
				1				
PRIVATE	1							1
FOR PROFIT					1			
(Sector_B)								
				1		1		
				2		1	0	1
Total B	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	1
	1		1	1			1	1
PRIVATE				1	1	1	1	
NON PROFIT								
(Sector_C)				1		1		
				1			1	
				4		3	2	1
Total C	1	0	1	4	1	3	2	1
TOTAL Sectors	4	1	1	9	2	5	7	3

Question 1.2: And the Traditional Shops, do you consider them as a Heritage asset?

		<i>Yes (Jump to Q1.2.2)</i>	<i>No (Jump to Q1.2.1)</i>	<i>1.2.1 Why?</i>
PUBLIC SPHERE (Sector_A)	A1	1		
	A2	1		
	A3	1		
	A4	1		
	A5	1		
<i>Total A</i>		5	0	
PRIVATE FOR PROFIT (Sector_B)	B1		1	Cultural component is secondary
	B2	1		
	B3	1		
	B4	1		
<i>Total B</i>		3	1	
PRIVATE NON PROFIT (Sector_C)	C1		1	These shops are no longer interesting
	C2	1		
	C3	1		
	C4	1		
	C5	1		
<i>Total C</i>		4	1	
TOTAL Sectors		12	2	

Question 1.2.2 : Based on which characteristics can you affirm that these Shops can be considered heritage?

	Tangible elements	What?	Intangible elements	What?
				What?
PUBLIC SPHERE (Sector_A)	A1	1 Artistic project; type of products	1	Longevity
	A2	1 Own production; name of streets and workshops; interior	1	Identity; memories; activity
	A3	1 Type of products	1	Commercial activity; cultural affection
	A4		1	History
	A5	1	1	
<i>Total A</i>			4	5
PRIVATE FOR PROFIT (Sector_B)	B1			1 Service; familiar business succession
	B2	1 Space (small, beautiful, picturesque)	1	History; longevity; spirit
	B3	1	1	History
	B4	1 Interior; furniture; architecture; name of streets and workshops	1	Activity; knowledge
<i>Total B</i>			3	4
PRIVATE NON PROFIT (Sector_C)	C1	1 Picturesque		
	C2	1 Architecture and artistic project		Identity; history; memory; cultural initiatives; personalities; commerce
	C3	1 Building; working tools and materials; name of streets and workshops	1	Authenticity; commercial activity
	C4	Artistic project; product		Personalities; events
	C5	1 Artistic project, decoration; materials; furniture; the shop itself	1	
<i>Total C</i>			4	1
TOTAL Sectors			11	10

Question 1.3: Taking into consideration the current debate about the future of these Shops, which are their major threats?

	New forms of entertainment	New consumption habits	Population ageing	Private/Public transportation access	Franchisings	Lack of consumers	Legislation	Other
PUBLIC SPHERE (Sector_A)	A1	1	1					1
	A2	1	1				1	1
	A3	1				1	1	1
	A4							1
	A5							
Total A	0	3	2	0	0	1	2	4
PRIVATE FOR PROFIT (Sector_B)	B1	1	1					1
	B2					1	1	1
	B3							1
	B4							1
	Total B	1	1	0	2	0	1	2
PRIVATE NON PROFIT (Sector_C)	C1			1			1	
	C2		1	1				
	C3							
	C4			1				1
	C5						1	1
Total C	0	1	3	0	0	2	3	2
TOTAL Sectors	1	5	5	2	4	7	7	10

Question 1.4: In your opinion, which would be the best solution for the preservation of the Shops?

		<i>Regulation</i>	<i>Financial support</i>	<i>Other</i>
PUBLIC SPHERE (Sector_A)	A1	1	1	
	A2	1	1	1
	A3	1		
	A4	1		1
	A5	1	1	1
<i>Total A</i>		5	3	3
PRIVATE FOR PROFIT (Sector_B)	B1		1	
	B2	1		1
	B3	1	1	
	B4	1	1	1
<i>Total B</i>		3	3	2
PRIVATE NON PROFIT (Sector_C)	C1			1
	C2		1	1
	C3			1
	C4	1		
	C5	1	1	1
<i>Total C</i>		2	2	4
TOTAL Sectors		10	8	9

Question 2.1: Do you believe that the Traditional Shops themselves, can lead to the Baixa's development?

		Yes	2.1.1 Which strategy you think should be used?	No	2.1.2 Why? (see below)
PUBLIC SPHERE (Sector_A)	A1	1	New type of management; coexistence with other type of shops; national classification; creation of tours		
	a2	1	Balance between tourists and accommodation services and residents and commercial activity		
	A3			1	No one consumes their products
	A4			1	They are not competitive
	A5	1	Cultural management; re-open workshops and teach crafts; museums for ancient commercial activities; marketing and publicity; national classification		
<i>Total A</i>		3		2	
PRIVATE FOR PROFIT (Sector_B)	B1	1	Improve related conditions (safety; prohibition of cars;) commerce innovation		
	B2	1	Coexistence between traditional and modern; creation of merchandising		
	B3	1	Call young entrepreneurs; franchisings paying the rent of traditional shops		
	B4	1	Find commercial heirs;interaction with modern design techniques; search for different consumers		
<i>Total B</i>		4		0	
PRIVATE NON PROFIT (Sector_C)	C1			1	Only if modernized
	C2	1	Rehabilitation plan; networks; shopping tours and cultural initiatives		
	C3	1	Cultural tourism; rehabilitation of buildings; link commerce with culture		
	C4	1	Make them cultural attractions		
	C5	1	Advertisement; guided tours		
<i>Total C</i>		4		1	
TOTAL Sectors		11		3	

Question 2.1.3: And if considered them together with other cultural assets, all as a site, could all lead to a local development?

		Yes	2.1.4 Which strategy you think should be used?	No
PUBLIC SPHERE (Sector_A)	A1			
	A2			
	A3	1	Combined plan considering shops, hotels, etc. Rehabilitaion of the products	
	A4	1	Increase the number of cultural attractions; link cultural values with financial viability	
	A5			
<i>Total A</i>		2		
PRIVATE FOR PROFIT (Sector_B)	B1			
	B2			
	B3			
	B4			
<i>Total B</i>		0		
PRIVATE NON PROFIT (Sector_C)	C1	1	Link business with monuments; create partnerships; joint events	
	C2			
	C3			
	C4			
	C5			
<i>Total C</i>		1		
TOTAL Sectors		3		

Question 2.2: Who should be the target to that local development process?

		<i>Open answer</i>
PUBLIC SPHERE (Sector_A)	A1	Maintenance of Baixa and tradicional shops for future generations
	A2	Safeguard of traditional shops
	A3	Depends of the hotel, commerce and tourism goals
	A4	Increase numbe of cultural attractions
	A5	Transmission of old techniques
<i>Total A</i>		
PRIVATE FOR PROFIT (Sector_B)	B1	More creativity
	B2	Increase variety of businesses
	B3	Employment creation
	B4	Baixa's rehabilitation
<i>Total B</i>		
PRIVATE NON PROFIT (Sector_C)	C1	Baixa's rehabilitation
	C2	Better connection with Chiado
	C3	Employment creation
	C4	Safeguard of Traditional Shops
	C5	Tourism and innovatorcommerce
<i>Total C</i>		
TOTAL Sectors		

Question 2.3: Who do you think could be responsible for leading this process?

	PUBLIC SPHERE	PRIVATE FOR PROFIT	PRIVATE NON PROFIT	Who?
	1			
A1				CML; DGPC; Ministério Economia; AICEP; Turismo Lisboa
A2	1	1	1	1 ARESP, Fórum Cidadania, Círculo das Lojas; UACS; owners
A3	1		1	1 CML; União dos Comerciantes; local associations
A4	1			CML
A5	1	1	1	1 CML; businesses; population
<i>Total A</i>	5	2	3	
B1	1			CML; Governemnt
B2	1			CML
B3	1	1		CML; owners; investors
B4	1			CML; ATL
<i>Total B</i>	4	1	0	
C1	1		1	1 DGPC and ministry of Culture; CML; associations of shopkeepers
C2	1		1	1 CML; Associação dos Comerciantes Baixa-Chiado; society; cultural entities
C3	1	1		CML; real estate investors
C4	1	1	1	1 CML; owners; UACS
C5	1		1	1 CML; DGPC; ATL; UACS
<i>Total C</i>	5	2	4	
TOTAL Sectors	14	5	7	

Question 2.4: According to the strategy you proposed, what will be the major (positive or negative) consequence?

		<i>Open answer</i>
PUBLIC SPHERE (Sector_A)	A1	Maintenance of Baixa and traditional shops for future generations
	A2	Safeguard of traditional shops
	A3	Depends of the hotel, commerce and tourism goals
	A4	Increase numbe of cultural attractions
	A5	Transmission of old techniques
<i>Total A</i>		
PRIVATE FOR PROFIT (Sector_B)	B1	More creativity
	B2	Increase variety of businesses
	B3	Employment creation
	B4	Baixa's rehabilitation
<i>Total B</i>		
PRIVATE NON PROFIT (Sector_C)	C1	Baixa's rehabilitation
	C2	Better connection with Chiado
	C3	Employment creation
	C4	Safeguard of Traditional Shops
	C5	Tourism and innovatorcommerce
<i>Total C</i>		
TOTAL Sectors		

Appendix D: Strategies of Heritage for Local Development

	Heritage as Place- Identifier	Heritage as Cultural Industry	Heritage as Tourism Industry Resource	Heritage and Place-product promotion	Heritage as Location Factor	Heritage in Economic Area Regeneration
PUBLIC SPHERE (Sector_A)	A1	x		x	x	
	A2				x	
	A3	x		x	x	
	A4		x			
	A5	x		x	x	
Total A	3	2	1	3	4	0
PRIVATE FOR PROFIT (Sector_B)	B1	x			x	
	B2			x		x
	B3				x	x
	B4				x	
Total B	1	1	0	2	2	2
PRIVATE NON PROFIT (Sector_C)	C1			x		x
	C2			x		
	C3			x		
	C4	x		x		
	C5				x	x
Total C	1	0	2	3	1	1
Total Sectors	5	3	3	8	7	3